1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162] the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'kalgŏt. Non-shamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

[162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

at the lake's edge, large and warm enough to prevent ice forming over a large area. Winter is severe at this altitude (4000 feet), snowdrifts are deep, and Klamath lake freezes over to a depth of some ten inches in late December. Such sheltered valleys as that of the Williamson river, while but a few miles from the open lake, are distinctly warmer.

The annual cycle of activities is dictated largely by the food habits. It is customary to leave the winter villages in April or May, when plant growth is well under way and the flat valleys have dried, not to return until the snow falls again and houses need refurbishing. When fish begin to run in the spring, the Klamath congregate at the fishing places to stay for two months or more. For example, some join the Modoc on Lost river for several weeks to catch and dry fish. The spring and early summer are spent on the marshes and prairies, gathering roots such as camas and ipos. When the camas has been dried and stored, they move to the marshes, especially to Klamath marsh, to harvest pond-lily seeds from mid-August to the end of September. While the women are busy with this harvest, men hunt mule deer, antelope, and other animals whose habitat is in eastern Klamath territory. Late summer and autumn, seeds, berries, and nuts are gathered, the Indians congregating where these are plentiful. Many of those at Klamath marsh, for example, move directly to Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, to garner these berries. Summer and autumn are the seasons for journeying to visit and trade, for raiding, and especially for laying up a store of fish against the coming winter. It must be understood that the winter locations are not completely abandoned during this season, for many of them are favorably situated for these very activities. But it is customary for such a group as the ăukekni division, whose winter residences cluster thickly along the middle Williamson river, to scatter and meet again at Klamath marsh for the pond-lily harvest in August and September. (This is the beginning of the Klamath year.) They begin to return to the winter sites in the latter month, to start rebuilding the earth-lodges for the coming winter, a task completed in December, by which time full winter is at hand.[219]

The move to Klamath marsh of the people at the mouth of Williamson river, the du'kwakni, can be made by canoe only as far as ya'ak on the middle river, where they join the ăukekni in packing afoot the rest of the distance. When the water is high, canoes can go upstream as far as bɛzŭkse'was at the mouth of Sprague river (see the maps,

[219] See also Gatschet, 1:74–77.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

751

mixed, to prevent chapping and sunburn. Red paint mixed with this grease is similarly used. Putting on a pitch coating is called sutlu'mk. The pitch is roasted and later scraped with knives.[401]

304

Simple tattooing (sl'tcpale'as) is common to both sexes. It has no connection with puberty rites, although it is usually done in youth; nor any esoteric significance. Anyone may tattoo, even boys and girls tattoo their companions, but it is usually performed by women, who receive no payment. Charcoal is rubbed into incisions cut with fragments of stone. Women have the face tattooed, as well as breast and thighs. The face decoration is regularly a line down the center of the chin and one descending obliquely from each corner of the mouth. One Klamath woman has a line drawn horizontally from each corner to her cheeks. My female informant has a few random lines, including a poor cross, on the inside of her left forearm. A man's decoration is ordinarily confined to his arms. One man has a line running up the back of his hand and a T-figure on his wrist, each of its arms formed by several parallel lines. Another had short lines crossing the inside of his left arm just above the wrist. This is reminiscent of the lines on a Yurok's forearm to measure dentalia shells,[402] but has not that purpose here. A few men have a line across the nose ending in a circle beneath each eye, or the circles alone. This is the sum of face decoration; they lack the large black patches on chin and cheeks of the Shasta. Upland Takelma women, I was told, conform rather to the northwest California style. They tattoo the entire lower part of the face below a line drawn across the cheeks.

[171]

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND NUMERATION

805

As with most Indians whose ceremonials do not depend on the exact recording of time, the Klamath have little development of time reckoning. The result is the confusion and conflict between native authorities familiar elsewhere.

Intervals of the day are of little importance. These are indicated by the position of the sun (as"bas) for which a few names have been developed.

pá'ttkls, early dawn; "this is the time to attack."
ni'lks, sunrise.
kmbo'sast, early forenoon.

[401] Gatschet, 1:150. He stated that pitch, "wákinsh grows on the pan-tree," by which I presume he meant the lodgepole pine.

[402] Kroeber, Handbook, 25.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

805 dĭno'lŏpka, later forenoon.
sĕwŏ'tkɛ, midday.
gawĭlo'la, mid-afternoon.
dĭ'ntkɛ sa''bas, sun nearly down.

The movement of the stars gives time at night. For instance, I was told that in winter, when they sit late telling stories, it is bedtime (lo'lalŏks) when Orion's belt has risen two-thirds of the distance toward the zenith. This is about ten o'clock in mid-December. Midnight is literally (?) psĭndŏtklŭm.

There is no year count, but these people have of course no difficulty in expressing spans of years. Similarly the seasons are of little significance. There are however four period names: sɛ'a'lŭm, the beginning of fall, lo'ldŏm, winter, when snow begins to fall in the mountains, sko'w'a, the beginning of spring, pŏ'tda, when roots, etc., begin to ripen. It was emphasized that these names refer properly to the opening of the seasons. There is no generic word for seasons; the year is called momo'watc or e'lo'la. Gatschet observes that as an alternative to the use of month names, they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as udsaksä'mi, "in the big sucker time," i-umä'mi, "in the berry season," etc.[403]

This seasonal count indicates that the year begins in early fall. It is marked by the end of the wild fruit season and the withering of the leaves. This corresponds to late August or early September.[404] The exact date is indefinite; it is marked by the appearance of a new moon, but bears no relation to the procession of the constellations.

Ten months are named which purport to pass for lunar months. That is, the Klamath month (sa''bas, month, moon, sun) is a period indefinitely fixed in the solar calendar, marked by the waxing and waning of the moon, and omitting the dark phases. These people are fully aware that ten named periods do not fit the twelve plus lunations of the year. No attempt is made to make them fit, to reckon an intercalary period. The ten months are merely ten roughly marked intervals of the year-round, whose beginning, duration, and end are left indefinite as of no particular concern, but which serve the convenient purpose of designating the several periods of the year. It is quite clear that while the Klamath are fully aware of the discrepan-

[403] Gatschet, 1:76.

[132] [133] [404] It must be remembered that winter comes very early at this altitude (4000 feet). By mid-September ice forms on the ponds during the night. Gatschet's information confirms that of my best informants that August-September marks the opening of the year (1:74). This disposes of mid-winter and February-March as opening dates as mentioned by my other informants below.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

805

cies of their calendar, they feel no need for correcting them. For instance, my most satisfactory informant, Nancy Phillips, named over the ten months when asked the number of lunations. When her attention was called to the true number, she agreed that there were more than ten, but exactly how many she did not know, for no one keeps track of them. She thought there were more than twelve, certainly she knows that there are more than ten.

The months are named for the fingers and counted in their order commencing with the right thumb, according to Nancy Phillips, and passing to the thumb on the left hand. This brings it about that the five names are repeated.

1. tɬ!o'po, thumb (approximately August-September and March; the ground thaws and the grass grows a little under the snow).
2. spê'lwis, forefinger (September-October, the leaves fall; April, geese and fish return).
3. dôtklô'mčni, middle finger (October-November; May-June).
4. ɬ!ô'ptc!alôm sinô'kstis, ring finger (lit., partner of the little finger; December-January, the coldest month, the lake freezes and timber cracks with frost; June, fruits are fully ripened).
5. ɬ!ô'ptc!is, little finger (February; July-August, midsummer).

The moon, which was full on September 21, 1926, was the second month according to this informant. On a previous occasion she had given the months beginning with the left thumb, and February–March as the opening of the year. This is at least consistent with her later naming of the months. Which hand one begins with is evidently immaterial. A check on Nancy's data is given by her statement that Orion's belt appears on the horizon at dawn in the first month; this would be about August. She also stated that the winter solstice came in the fourth month, which is correct by her reckonings. But she added that the summer solstice was in the thumb month, which would be incorrect unless she began counting on the left hand, from the little finger, which stood for February–March.

Pat Kane placed the beginning of the year shortly before Christmas, the lunation in which the winter solstice occurs. He began the count with the little finger of the left hand and continued with the right thumb. This agrees with the procedure recorded by Gatschet.

A year of twelve months was recorded by Gatschet.[***] His informant noted the beginning of the year about August. He named the months first on one hand, followed with the other, in each case beginning at the thumb, and gave as eleventh and twelfth months the thumb

[***] 1:74–77.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

• 805 and index finger of the first hand again. Naturally Gatschet's twelve months and my ten do not correspond; the following tabulation shows that there is close agreement only in the earlier part of the year.

Finger	*Gatschet's description*	*Identifiable as*	*Nancy's dating*
Thumb	Berry gathering; dry the fruit; mares foal	Late September	August-September
Index	Inaugurate winter house by feast: stack hay	October	September-October
Middle	Leaves fall	October-November	October-November
Ring	Snows	November	December-January
Small	Snows heavily	November-December	February
Thumb	Lake frozen; snows	December	March
Index	Much rain; dances in dance house	December-January	April
Middle	Kill large suckers	March-April	May-June
Ring	Take large suckers; dig ipos	April	June
Small	Dry suckers; leave home to dig camas and ipos	April-May; Gatschet says about May	July-August
Thumb	Store camas; gather wokas	Mid-August to end of September	
Index	Return from wokas harvest; gather berries	Late August and September	

The Indians quarrel a great deal over the month reckoning. One old man, who is so deaf that he cannot be argued with, so I was told, held that September, 1926, was ḳ!ō'pte!alŭm sĭnŏ'kstĭs, ring finger month, that is, either fourth or ninth. He was counting too fast, according to Nancy. If he meant the ninth month, he was in substantial agreement with Pat Kane in putting the beginning of the year at the end of our calendar year.

[841] In this connection we note that women do not reckon the intervals between menstruations, nor recognize their recurrence with the lunations.[806]

A tale, in which the number of months is fixed by a council of animals, follows.[807]

805 539 The animals each tried to make so many sticks to represent the number of months they wanted. One made ten sticks for a ten-month winter. Another objected that this was much too long: "If you make a winter of ten months, people will freeze and starve to death before it ends." So he broke the ten sticks that stood for winter. If he had left them there would have been twenty months in a year.

The solstices are recognized but their exact dates not noted. They are unnamed but the apparent movement is called lo'ldŭm (or găpgŏ'-pli), going away, and skowha' (or toḳa'lḳa), returning.

[806] Knotted string records, such as are used on Puget sound, are not kept.

[807] Told by Nancy Phillips, who knew it only imperfectly. Cf. Gatschet, 1:105.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

171 *
105

	Klamath form	*Links with:*	
Dentalium shells	Ornament	Ultimate source, coasts of Washington and British Columbia.	[301]
Cradles	Sitting	N.W. and N. central California.	[854]
	Board	N. Basin, Plateau.	
Games	Beaver teeth dice	Oregon, Washington, British Columbia.	[524]
	Four stick	N.E., central, and S. California (and elsewhere?).	
	Hand game	Some central Californians, Basin, S. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains.	
	Modified hoop-pole	Minor game of coast from Alaska to Oregon (not N.W. California).	
	Ring-and-pin; rush ball	Modoc?, Wishram.	
Pipes	Spherical; discoidal	S. Plateau (Nez Percé to Okanagon).	[276]
	Angular	Wasco, Wishram, Middle Columbia, Nez Percé (links with Plains calumet?).	
Musical instruments	Hand drum	Recent in Plateau; Basin, Plains, (Northwest Coast?).	[534]
	Deerhoof rattle in girls' rites	N. California.	
	Notched rasp	Plateau, Basin, Southwest, Plains.	
	Clap stick	N. and central California.	
	Open flute	California, Southwest; Takelma, Nez Percé (and probably general in the west).	
Numerals	Finger names	Takelma.	[802]
Ritual number	Five	S. Northwest Coast, Washington, Oregon, California S. to Sinkyone and Northern Maidu, Basin.	[801]
Calendar	Numerical names	N.W. California, Fraser R., N. Northwest Coast.	[805]
Scalping	Whole scalp	California, W. Southwest, Wishram (no scalping in N.W. California E. to Shasta, and Northwest Coast).	[726]
Head trophy	Unusual	California, Northwest Coast.	
Scalp dance		General (except N. W. California) (over head trophies on Northwest Coast).	[727]
War dance	With notched rattle	Upland Takelma?, Wasco, Wishram, Nez Percé; without rattle, Chinook, N.W. California.	
Disposal of dead	Cremation	Modoc; some cremation in N.E. California; central California; formerly in E. Washington; N. Plateau.	[764]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS																
Counting, Calendar, Directions																
Counting																
4416. Finger count for months	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4417. Finger count for objects	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
4418. Begin counting on thumb	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+
4419. Begin count on 4th finger	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	.	–
4420. End on 4th finger of other hand	–	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	.	–
4421. Count on toes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
4422. Mnemonic devices	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4423. Knotted string for measuring time intervals	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4424. Knotted string for messages	–	–	–	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4425. Stick for 1, 5, 10, 100 objects	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
4426. Stick counters used in games	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4427. Rocks to count objects	–		.						+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
4428. Marks on house to measure time intervals	+	–	+					+	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	.	–
4429. Scratch on ground for 10 and 100	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	–
4430. Stick poker burned to mark month's duration													+	–	(+)	–
4431. Sack with berries in it	–		–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Calendar																
‡4432. Number of seasons	4	4	4	4	5	(3)	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	4
o4433. Number of names for moons	10	.	.	10	10	12	10	14	7	7	4	–	12	.	.	.
4434. Names descriptive	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	.	.
4435. Finger names	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4436. Winter solstice observed	+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
4437. Calendar begins winter solstice	(+)	+	.	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	.	(+)	.	+	–
4438. Summer month counted	+	.	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	.	.	+
4439. Month begins on new moon	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
4439a. Stars as month markers	(+)	–	.	(+)	–	.	(+)	+	+	–	+	.	.	.	–	–
4440. Month record kept	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
4441. Sticks put away													.	+	–	–
4442. Stones put in sack	–	.	.	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–
4442a. Knots tied in string		.	.			+	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
4443. Old man keeps record	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
4444. By memory only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	(+)	–	–	–
4445. Old people argue which month	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	+	(+)
4446. Fisticuffs	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	.	+	–
4447. Solstices observed by marks or shadow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4448. Summer solstice	+	+	–	+	.	(+)			+	(+)	+	+	+	.	.	+
4449. Winter solstice	+	+	+	+	+	(+)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4450. In sweat house	–	.	(+)	(+)	–	(+)	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	.	.
4451. Trees or mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4452. Sunrise and sunset	+	+	–			–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	(+)	
4453. Sunrise only	–	–	+			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
4454. Sun's monthly position observed	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	(+)	+	+	.	.	.	+
4455. Marks on shadows from trees, mountains	+	.	–	+	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	.	.	.	+
4456. Marks in sweat house	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	.	.	–
4457. Daily sunrise, sunset observed	+		–	+					(+)	+	–	+	.	–	–	+

764 tings hidden in woods. Mutilations: scratching soon after death; finger amputation. Sacrifice of relatives. Widow pays parents-in-law before eating. Mourner pays to waive taboos. Taboos laid on community: boat travel stopped for .... days; offender pays mourners. Name taboo for ... months; until mourning ceremony; change name at death of namesake. Deerskin dance, Jump dance
765 taboo for ... days. Mourning ceremony.--Family mourning ceremony: fixed number of days after death; mourners washed; ceremony removes meat taboo only. Group mourning ceremony: held for prominent persons only; warriors only; spring only; summer only. Other tribes invited; loans by mourners; given under flat shade; fence and flat shade. Dance inside structure, in open; center pole. Formal seating allotments. Professional performers. Images made by another tribe; some burnt; given to individuals, to visiting tribes only, given irrespective of tribe, to performers only; images thrown to crowd. Offerings put in hut, hole; single stationary pole for all offerings. Sham battle. Everyone in tribe washed; mourners only washed. Post-washing activities: dancing; eagle sacrifice.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

802 Counting.--Count with twigs between fingers. Beads over rod for messages; as calendar. Stick
805 mat for messages. Calendar.--Numeral names for months; 2-solstice calendar. Months recorded on sticks. Charcoal marks inside house for month record.

Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs

75 Herb doctoring: knowledge purchased from older person; doctor sings or dances; doctor employs assistant.

Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena

821 Cosmography: world a person, tree, animal; multiple heavens. Sun and moon: sun an animal; moon an animal; figure in moon coyote, dog, river. New moon: children have hair cut, dance. Eclipses: any bird, condor, blue jay, bug, coyote, puma, raccoon, gopher, rattlesnake eating sun or moon; moon's husband lying on her; coypte's tail in front of; condor in front of sun, moon. At eclipse strike plank or canoe; hold raccoon skin on stick; men go to woods or mountains to make medicine; turn vessels over; throw out food, turn over canoe. Falling stars: explained as stars wanting to change place; stars dead man's eyes. Milky Way: is dust from running animals, birds, elk, deer, mountain sheep, bear, frog, prairie falcon, ducks, snakes;

by informants; information concerning them was volunteered (Beals, Nisenan, pp. 378-379, says images not used; mentions Powers reports they were among S Nisenan). Images (so·ta) of dead made in shape of man, out of board; decorated with yellowhammer bands, strings of shell beads. "Every woman mourner who had such an image danced with it all night; in the morning burned these so·ta." At Nevada City 2 specific instances of use of these images cited: (1) for grandfather of woman of about 35-40, who is still living; (2) for Mrs. Josie Carmen's husband. Dick Jaime, old Nevada City Nisenan man now dead, made image for Mrs. Carmen; Jaime related to Mrs. Carmen's husband. MV: Images made only for "captain" (yeponi, head of secret society), captain's child, or prominent woman official (utbi) who helps feed dancers.

4395. MV: Finely woven baskets traded prior to burning (see note 4354); coarse baskets burnt.

KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEFS

Counting, Calendar, Directions

4423. At: Cut off knot each day to measure number of days which have elapsed, in order to know when to attend celebration.

4424. SW: Messages sent by word of mouth; time of meeting designated according to phase of moon.

4430. NS: Use stick as poker for fire; at end of month stick is burned to certain length; this stump is then put in fire and said to be "dead."

4432. MM: Summer (yomen) and winter (semen).

4433. AW: "Coyote wanted 20 months, 10 months of winter, 10 of summer. Silver Fox said, 'That's too much; people would die. Six months of hard times [winter], six months of good times [is all right], but 10 months of hard times is too long.' So Silver Fox got his way; there were 12 months, 6 and 6." AE: Coyote wanted 20 months, but Fox made it 10. MF: Some doubt concerning entry.

4436. SW: Every village had marks for observation. AW: "Watch where sun rises for shortest day; know when shadow is at certain place sun is going to 'back up' and that it will snow." No shamanistic dances held at this season, but people return to live in large communal living houses (astui) during winter season when they "didn't gather anything."

405 4437. K1: "New year begins on 4th moon. 3 or 4 doctors come together then, and all people have good time, singing. The doctors know which moon this is; they keep watch for the fourth month especially; when horn of new moon comes between 2 stars at sunrise, they say 'this is the fourth moon.'" Cf. Spier, Klamath, 218 ff. SW: Year begins in winter solstice, "when for 2-3 days the sun rises and sets over the same marks" (in the large assembly house, uk'kwamma). Years counted from 1 winter solstice to next.

[805] 4439a. K1: See note 4437. SW: Rising of

[234-A]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop.

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máklaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsakšă'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umă'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

[796] [224]

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktaɬ-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloɣins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máklaks hŏ'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iɣaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiɣátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] [222] [251] 74, 5. saká a pŏ'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pŏ'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

[796] [222] [192] [415] 74, 8. shnúkanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. wíllishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáɣoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáɣoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.